

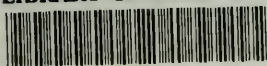
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A REVIEW OF
American History

BY
CHARLES ELLSWORTH MARTZ

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A REVIEW OF
AMERICAN HISTORY

BY
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1922

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A Review of American History

THE STUDY OF AMERICAN HISTORY

History owes its place in a school curriculum chiefly to the fact that its study helps us to understand people, individually and in groups. History presents accounts of groups of people reacting to various stimuli. If we can be sure that we have the correct result attached to any stimulus we have a valuable instance to bring to bear whenever like forces are again presented. To this general goal of history we must add, in the case of the history of one's own country, the deeper insight into present conditions which a study of these conditions in the making will give.

From either of these viewpoints the first century and a half after the discovery of America must be thought of as European History. Events in America are largely a fringe on a world history and an understanding of American events demands this point of view. Only very gradually do circumstances that are distinctly American begin to dominate the stage. Our first study must be of the Europe of 1492. And right there we may begin to see the working of what is probably the chief thread in the warp of American History, namely, the moving of a dissatisfied group of people out of an old environment and their subsequent development and adaptation to a new environment where land is plentiful. Let us keep hold of this thread as we follow our story, seeing the forces which made the people discontented with the old, the means by which they found the new homes, the forces in those new homes which made of them Americans, and the perennial conflicts of those in the new country with those who have remained in the old, from the time of Bacon's Rebellion, the Revolution, of Thomas H. Benton, down to the free-silver advocates and more recently the farm bloc. America has emerged from this conflict of the new with the old.

CHART OF THE COLONIAL PERIOD

1600				1649		1660		1700						
Elizabeth	James I	Charles I		Commonwealth	Charles II	James II	Vin & Mary	Anne	George I	George II				
	07 Va. Settled	19 1st Assembly	24 16 Royal		Gou. Berkeley	76 Bacon's Rebellion								
	07 Popham Colony	20 Plymouth	28 Mass Bay	36 RI Conn	43 New Eng Confed		85-89 Dominion of New Eng.							
			34 Md		64 NY NJ	81 Po Del				32 Georgia				
					60 1st New Hav. Act	63 2nd New Hav. Act	73 Marquette & Joliet	81 La Jolite	89-97 King William's War	02 Queen Anne's War	13 Utrecht	33 Sugar & Molasses Act	44 King George's War	45 45

THE EUROPEAN BACKGROUND

The discovery of America is one event in a great series of movements to which we give the name the RENAISSANCE. Europe awakened from the conditions of the Middle Ages and its new activities brought such changes that the following period is called Modern History as distinguished from Mediæval History. In these changes we must look for an understanding of American History up to 1700.

Politically the Feudal system gave way to centralized states with a new feeling of nationality. England seemed to rejoice over "Tudor Absolutism"; Ferdinand and Isabella were married and Spain became a united kingdom; Portugal became a single monarchy under Henry; France was emerging from her seemingly hopeless division. Patriotism and national rivalries were inevitable results and the foundation was laid for much of American History.

In the intellectual field the awakening led on the one side to an increased interest in the physical world, its shape, size, and travel routes. On the other hand, chiefly in Germany, it led to an examination of the religious views of the period in the light of the new spirit of investigation. The result was the revolt of the followers of Luther against the Roman Church, a revolt which paved the way for the great number of sects which exist in England in 1600. These new groups were a problem to a ruling class which still thought of religion as one of the first aids to the government, since rulings could be more easily enforced if they could have a religious sanction. Down to 1700 the government of England was still seeking a unified church as one basis for the authority of the state.

More important than all of these changes must be put the complications caused by new trade conditions. The Crusades had brought Europe into contact with the East and its products. Barter was giving way to trade with money and an important commerce had sprung up with the tropical lands of the East. This trade brought about accumulations of capital for which

investment was sought. Trade furnished this outlet, and we shall see later that early colonization in America has the same foundation. In 1400 we find a flourishing trade being carried on with the East, in which spices, perfumes, silks and like goods were the staples. The routes which the reader should trace on a map, were mostly by water, but each route necessitated a land trip across desert country from the Mediterranean waters to those of the Indian Ocean and as we enter the period of the Renaissance we find traders complaining of the expense of this land portage and asking whether an all-water route could not be found. This search was hastened by the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Ottoman Turks who preyed upon commerce through the Eastern Mediterranean.

Let us add up all of these forces, the new spirit of investigation, the interest in commerce and in an outlet for investment, the expense of the old paths of commerce, after 1853 prohibitive, and finally the new spirit of nationalism which made the nations rivals for the trade advantages. The sum explains the new maritime boldness which brought the discovery of America. Little Portugal appears first in the role of explorer, largely because of her strategic position and because in *Prince Henry the Navigator*, her sailors had a patron saint. They set out along their natural pathway, down the coast of Africa past the Azores. *Diaz* got as far as the tip of Africa in 1486; *Vasco da Gama* succeeded in getting around to India in 1497 and an all-water route was established.

Spain was directed to the west by the voyages of Columbus, a Genoese navigator born about 1450. He was filled with the spirit of the age, both as a practical sailor and a theoretical map-maker with a conviction that the shape of the world would present a solution to the new-route riddle. The rulers of Spain financed his voyages and he sailed four times into the unknown western seas, finding lands which he reported to be the Indies but which brought to the Spanish, in his lifetime, none of the wealth of the real Indies. The expectations that

he had aroused, turned his patrons against him and in 1506, discredited and wretched, he was mercifully relieved by death.

This new world soon became the scene of a series of exploring expeditions in which we are interested largely to impress the extent of the territory to which Spain could make claim. The reader should mark on a map of America the following explorers:

<i>Vespuccius</i>	Coast of Brazil (Naming of America)
<i>Magellan</i>	Around World (died in Philippines)
<i>Cortez</i>	Conquest of Mexico
<i>Balboa</i>	Pacific Ocean across Panama
<i>DeSoto</i>	Gulf States
<i>Narvaez</i>	Gulf States
<i>deLeon</i>	Florida
<i>Coronado</i>	Conquest of Peru

French sailors, probably following the tracks of their fishermen, went straight across the North Atlantic. Note the following:

<i>Verrazano</i>	Hudson River northward
<i>Cartier</i>	1534, in St. Lawrence
<i>Champlain</i>	1608, founded Quebec

COLONIZATION

We now come to the movements of bodies of people from Europe to America for settlement. The first group is typical of the discontent caused by religious persecution for French Huguenots settled at Port Royal in 1562. In 1565 *Menendez* brought Spaniards to found St. Augustine, the first permanent settlement in America, and one of his first acts was to wipe out the Port Royal colony which was a threat to the Spanish treasure ships from South America to Spain.

The national exaltation of Elizabethan England and the search on the part of capital for investment led to English attempts to colonize. The first trials were by individual men seeking position and profit, of whom we should note three:

Gilbert.....In Newfoundland
 Gosnold.....Along Cape Cod
 Raleigh.....Roanoke Island (N. C.)

These were all failures largely because the individuals had not sufficient capital to support such an expensive undertaking. Ideas of the profits to come from American trade were such, however, that more elaborate attempts were made in the chartering of two companies with monopolies of the trade with America similar to those granted the East India Company. The London Company had the territory to the South and the Plymouth Company to the North, a division of territory which should be fixed on a map.

English activity in the early period is limited to the voyage of John Cabot in 1498, who explored the northerly coast. The strength of the Spanish on the sea made it impossible for the English to interfere to a greater extent. However, a change comes during the reign of Queen Elizabeth (after 1550). A period of prosperity and rational exaltation came to England and with it came a series of seamen who dared dispute Spanish supremacy. Hawkins and Drake are the great names of the period, men who were really pirates, but who lived in an age when piracy practiced against the Spanish was a virtue. Their lives are filled with romance and adventure.

Incensed by the exploits of these men and angered because of Elizabeth's refusal to marry him, the king of Spain sent practically all of his sea power against England in a great fleet known as the Spanish Armada. This was defeated in 1588, and that date marks the downfall of Spain as a maritime power and the rise of the importance of England.

The Plymouth Company sent over a colony to the mouth of the Kennebec River, usually called the POPHAM Colony (1607). This colony was a failure and the Plymouth Company went out of existence, its rights going to a new corporation known as the COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND.

1607. VIRGINIA.

The London Company was more fortunate and its colony arrived in 1607 on the James River in Virginia. Remember that this was a business venture, and that the purpose was to make money for the stockholders. The men who came over were merely employees of the company. The colony came close to a failure the first year because:

- (1) The men were largely gentlemen adventurers not used to work.
- (2) They came not to make homes but to get rich easily and go home.
- (3) The common storehouse system encouraged idleness.

This common storehouse was the store of the company, from which the employees were supported. In this wild land this had to be regardless of their producing power and so no incentive was put on efficient labor.

JOHN SMITH, one of the first governors, by his initiative and boldness, did much to remedy this state of affairs and time after time saved the colony by getting supplies from the Indians.

DALE, a later governor, abolished the common storehouse and introduced individual holdings of land.

Since the company, located in England, was given both the power to make what profits they could from the land, and also to govern it, the colony is now called PROPRIETARY. The company had supreme power. This power limited somewhat by a new charter in 1609, met a check in 1619, when the company had to organize the first REPRESENTATIVE ASSEMBLY in America to help in law making.

The same year, 1619, the first negro slaves were brought to Virginia, where tobacco growing had already become the important industry, started by John Rolfe.

1624, the king took the charter from the London Company and its assets, including Virginia, went to him. A colony in which the king is the proprietor is called ROYAL. Virginia remained royal until the Revolution of 1775.

The date 1660 marks an important breaking point in American history. In Virginia it marks the return of BERKELEY as governor. His rule was arbitrary and absolute and soon made for discontent. He put men into offices who were unfit; he controlled the lawmaking by his "rotten assembly," an assembly controlled by himself, which he kept in office for fourteen years. This discontent became gradually more serious until it took but a little thing to touch it off into flame. Berkeley refused to take active measures against the Indians who were making raids against the frontier farms, to preserve his profits from the Indian fur trade. Finally a raid on the farm of Nathaniel Bacon caused the owner to raise a force, defeat the Indians, and then, in 1676, march against Berkeley, putting him to flight. BACON'S REBELLION seemed about to succeed when Bacon died, and the movement fell through.

NEW ENGLAND

THE RELIGIOUS SITUATION IN ENGLAND.

The coming of Protestantism to England was accompanied by the beginning of a bitter quarrel as to the extent of the revolt from Romanism. Many wished to remain in the Roman Catholic Church; many wished to stay in one established church, but wished to make it less like the Catholic; many despaired of changes within the church and decided in favor of a separate church. As against these discontented elements there was the great body of the Church of England, supported by the government which tried to force everybody to conform. For the flight of Catholics to America see the Maryland Colony; the last class, known as the Separatists, were the first to leave England, going first to Holland and then finally deciding to come to America. Those who wanted to change the church, but who still maintained that all should belong to one state church, were known as Puritans, and to them we owe the development of Massachusetts.

1620. PLYMOUTH.

The Separatists who were living in Holland got permission from the London Company to come to America, made arrangements with some merchants to advance the needed capital on the security of the labor of the colonists, and then set out on the *Mayflower* for America, and landed at what they called Plymouth. They had no charter, so before landing they drew up the "Mayflower Compact," which bound all to obey the government which they should set up. *John Carver*, the first governor, soon died, and was succeeded by *William Bradford*, the greatest governor. They went through the usual "starving period," but soon abandoned the common storehouse idea.

1629. MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

In 1628, six men, including *John Endicott*, formed the Massachusetts Bay Company for commercial purposes, mostly for fishing off Cape Cod. Several small villages were formed. In 1629 the Puritans of England wanted to leave and decided to go to the new villages. The company had been given power to govern their own colony, and so it was made a condition by the Puritans that the members of the Company should come to America with them. *John Winthrop* was the new leader, and within a few years over 30,000 people came to Massachusetts. Gradually the company began to admit the men of the colony to the corporation so that we have a new sort of colony—a proprietary colony governed by a company of which most of the male citizens were members. This is virtually a self-governing colony and is called a CORPORATE colony.

The Puritans did not believe in religious toleration, and admitted no one to the corporation except members of their church. Others were persecuted. The situation led to complications which brought about the settling of Rhode Island and Connecticut, discussed later.

1636. RHODE ISLAND.

The Puritans who controlled Massachusetts Bay believed in a state-controlled church. Those not in the state church were given no political power and were often persecuted. *Roger Williams*, a minister, was one of those who objected to this. He preached that the state should have no control over religion and, further, that the land was the property of the Indians, and should be purchased from them. He was banished from the colony and fled south and founded Providence in 1636. It became a corporate colony. *Mrs. Anne Hutchinson* was also banished for heresy and settled near Providence.

1636. CONNECTICUT.

Not only did the state control the church but the church controlled the state. It was a "religious oligarchy." Some people objected to this. The congregation of *Thomas Hooker*, driven by the hope of getting better land in the Connecticut valley, and also protesting against religious control, moved in a body from Massachusetts Bay and founded Hartford and some other towns. These towns were finally united with New Haven, which had been founded in 1638, to form a new corporate colony to be called Connecticut.

The colonies of New England, with the exception of Rhode Island, united in 1643 to form the NEW ENGLAND CONFEDERATION for the purpose of defense against the Indians, against the Dutch in New Amsterdam and against the French of the North. The central body was a council of two delegates from each colony. In contrast with this equal vote, when a war was entered upon, the colonies furnished money and men in proportion to their population. This worked against Massachusetts. After about forty years, this defect broke up the confederation when Massachusetts refused to join an expedition against the Dutch.

OTHER COLONIES

1634. MARYLAND.

The Catholics of England formed another persecuted group. *George Calvert*, who had failed in his colony of Avalon, became a Catholic and founded Maryland, as a proprietary colony on a grant which he had received from the king. St. Mary's in 1634 was the first settlement. The colony was characterized by absolute religious toleration. Later Puritans from the north came to the colony and injected their religious disputes into the colony and toleration was destroyed.

1664. NEW YORK.

In 1609, the Dutch had entered the new field with the voyage of *Hudson*, and in 1632 New Amsterdam was settled. It did not prosper, however, as it was a commercial colony with absolute government, neither condition being conducive to a permanent settlement. By giving large tracts along the Hudson to "PATROONS," men who would bring over 50 families for permanent settlement, an attempt was made to remedy the situation, but with little success. Charles II began a series of wars against the Dutch for commercial supremacy, and, as part of his campaign, his brother, James of York, was given permission to take New Amsterdam. This he did in 1664, and it became New York. The last Dutch governor was Peter Stuyvesant. In 1685 James became king and the colony became a royal colony.

At first it included what is now New Jersey, but this was given to *Carteret* and *Berkley* who divided it between them.

1681. PENNSYLVANIA

George Fox was the founder of another religious sect, the Quakers, who were bitterly persecuted. *William Penn* was one of his converts. Penn was the son of the famous Admiral Penn, to whom the king was greatly in debt. Penn asked the king

for a grant with the idea of planting a colony to run on the Quaker principles of equality, good will, etc. Pennsylvania was founded, a proprietary colony, in 1681. All who belived in one God were welcomed, all Christians were given a share in the government, by Penn's constitution, which was the most liberal in the colonies.

In order to control the mouth of the Delaware, Penn purchased the lower counties of Delaware from the Duke of York in the next year. These had the same proprietor but separate colonial governments.

1663. CAROLINA.

Another proprietary colony was begun by a group of noblemen in the south. The most interesting fact about it is the "Grand Model," a Utopian frame of government, prepared by *John Locke*, providing for a modified feudal system, utterly unsuited to a wild country and never put into effect. The colony soon became royal.

1732. GEORGIA.

The last colony was founded by *James Oglethorpe* as a refuge for those put in prison for debt in England. It bordered Spanish territory and thus had many quarrels over land claims. It became royal soon after its foundation.

THE COLONIES—1650-1750

The colonial governments may be divided into three groups:

1. PROPRIETARY, in which one man or a group of men are given the land and the right to govern the land.

2. ROYAL, a proprietary colony where the king is the proprietor.

3. CORPORATE, or charter, where the voters of the colony govern the colony according to a charter granted by the king.

In discussing the characteristics of the colonies it is convenient to divide them into three groups: New England, the Middle Colonies, and the Southern Colonies. These geographic groups present some instructive comparisons.

INDUSTRY.

New England had four chief industries: Fishing, Ship-building, Commerce, Rum-making.

The Middle Colonies were provision colonies and furnished grain, dairy products.

The Southern Colonies are divided into two groups:

Virginia and Maryland grew tobacco almost exclusively.

Carolina and Georgia grew rice and indigo. (No cotton.)

LABOR.

New England industry was built upon free labor.

Southern industry was built upon slave labor.

Middle Colonies had both.

EDUCATION.

New England had schools and colleges and education was pretty general.

The South had few schools and educated only the rich.

RELIGION.

New England was strongly Congregational.

The South was predominantly Church of England.

SOCIETY.

New England had little of aristocracy of wealth.

The South had a wealthy planter class, a poor white class and the slave class, a caste system rigidly adhered to.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

New England had the town as its unit and its government centered in the town meeting.

The South had the county as the unit and did not have the democracy of the town meeting.

The Middle Colonies were a mixture of Northern and Southern characters.

COLONIAL GOVERNMENT.

All of the colonies of New England were corporate.

The South was characterized by royal colonies.

The Middle colonies were largely proprietary.

1660—A BREAKING POINT

The Puritan Revolution in England, which resulted in the death of Charles I in 1649, lost ground with the death of Cromwell, and, in 1660, Charles II was put on the throne. His accession marks an important turning point in colonial history.

THE NAVIGATION ACTS.

After the downfall of the Spanish the Dutch had become the great commercial nation. Charles II and his advisers wanted to put England back into the competition. To do this was the purpose of the first Navigation Act in 1660. It provided that all colonial trade had to be in English or colonial ships manned by a predominantly English or colonial crew.

At this time a new school of economists was beginning to teach the MERCANTILE THEORY, which said that the wealth of a nation would be increased if she had a sure supply of raw materials, if she had control of the shipping and if she had a sure market for her manufactured products. To further this program, they had a clause put into the first Navigation Act which said that certain raw materials called the *enumerated commodities* should be sent by the colonists only to England, thus giving England a monopoly of the raw materials.

In 1663 the mercantilists got another point in the second Navigation Act. This provided that manufactured goods of most kinds could be bought by the colonies only from England.

To administer these acts a series of other acts were passed becoming progressively more and more severe.

The New England rum trade was a matter of difficulty, for the colonists insisted upon buying the molasses for their business from the French West Indies. The planters of the English West Indies brought pressure to bear and Parliament passed the Sugar and Molasses Act of 1733, putting a prohibitive tax upon French sugar and molasses.

None of these acts was respected by the colonies and smuggling became a patriotic and profitable industry. This situation came to a crisis after 1760.

NEW ENGLAND.

Charles II and the colonies of New England, particularly Massachusetts, were in a state of constant friction. The king had many charges against the colonists.

1. The colonists were extreme Protestants and the king was Roman Catholic.
2. The colonists insisted upon coining money contrary to his will.
3. Massachusetts had annexed Maine in defiance of his order.
4. New England was the centre of the smuggling trade.
5. The New England colonies were all self-governing.
6. New England filled no place in the program of the mercantilists.

For these, and many other reasons, the king determined to act. Randolph was sent over as an agent to get evidence and his report confirmed the king's suspicions. Therefore, in 1684, all of the charters of New England were annulled and *Edmund Andros* was sent to be governor of a royal province, the DOMINION OF NEW ENGLAND, which was to embrace all of New England, with New York and New Jersey. Andros succeeded in getting all of the charters except Connecticut and Rhode Island, where the colonists by tricks kept them hidden. Andros ruled absolutely, setting aside all of the

colonial assemblies; he established the Church of England as the State Church; he levied taxes by order of the governor. The people were ready for action and the chance came when, in 1688, the people of England overthrew James II who had sent Andros. The colonists thereupon captured Andros and sent him to England. The charters were gotten out and the old governments resumed. Massachusetts and Plymouth were united by a new charter in 1691.

VIRGINIA.

Bacon's Rebellion (1676) has already been mentioned as typical of the new attitude of the English king.

THE FRENCH IN AMERICA

As we have noticed the French had some part in the early explorations around the St. Lawrence River. Little expansion came until after 1670. The predominating motives of the French were: (1) The Christianizing of the Indians and (2) the fur trade.

In 1673, *Marquette* and *Joliet* went part of the way down the Mississippi.

In 1681, *La Salle* reached the mouth of the river. At once a flood of missionaries and fur traders took possession of the whole Mississippi valley and began to expand up the Ohio River. This would naturally bring them into contact with the English, who were just beginning to expand over the mountains. This friction became acute and needed little excuse to bring it to actual fighting. The occasion came with a series of wars in Europe between the mother countries.

1689-1697. King William's War.

1702-1713. Queen Anne's War, ended by Treaty of UTRECHT, by which England got a considerable body of land at mouth of St. Lawrence.

1744-1748. King George's War.

1754-1763. The French and Indian War, with the Treaty of PARIS, by which England got Canada and all East of Mississippi, including Florida.

In the first year of the French and Indian War, a Congress of all the colonies was called for ALBANY, to provide for unified action against the enemy. At this congress, *Franklin* presented his "Plan of Union," for perpetual union of the colonies. A governor-general appointed by the king was to be the executive, a council of representatives of the colonies was to have charge of matters concerning all of the colonies, levying taxes and spending the money. The plan was rejected by both the king and the colonies, showing the growing distrust between these two. The plan later became the basis of the Articles of Confederation.

These wars had far-reaching influence upon the coming events. The Treaty of Paris gave England her first dreams of "Empire." An empire took more money than England had, and the urgent necessity for more money led to a new plan—the taxation in the colonies. Then the navigation acts came to the front once more. The colonies insisted upon trading with the French even during the war, virtually treason from England's viewpoint. This made England determined to see that the acts were enforced to the letter. These two movements brought the American Revolution.

To these may be added the minor influences of the removal of the French threat on the north making the colonists more independent, the training in warfare, the experience in union, the new idea that the red-coats could be beaten, etc.

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THE COMING OF THE REVOLUTION

The individual events by which the two movements above suggested were carried out should be learned in detail.

To enforce the navigation acts the English made use of WRITS OF ASSISTANCE, which were blank search warrants, permitting the searching of any place for anything. The legality of such writs was strongly contested by *James Otis*.

1764—A new Sugar and Molasses Act was passed, making the tax on French sugar higher, with the hope of cutting off that trade.

1765—THE STAMP ACT, calling for taxes upon all periodicals and legal documents. The colonists protested and their opposition took the following forms:

(1) Violence. (2) The formation of the Sons of Liberty. (3) Protests by colonial assemblies and (4) The meeting of the STAMP ACT CONGRESS.

The Stamp Act had been proposed by GRENVILLE, and after his resignation it was repealed (1766).

1767—THE TOWNSHEND ACTS, of which three should be remembered:

(1) New taxes upon glass, paper, painters' supplies, etc., imported.

(2) A new commission to enforce the navigation acts.

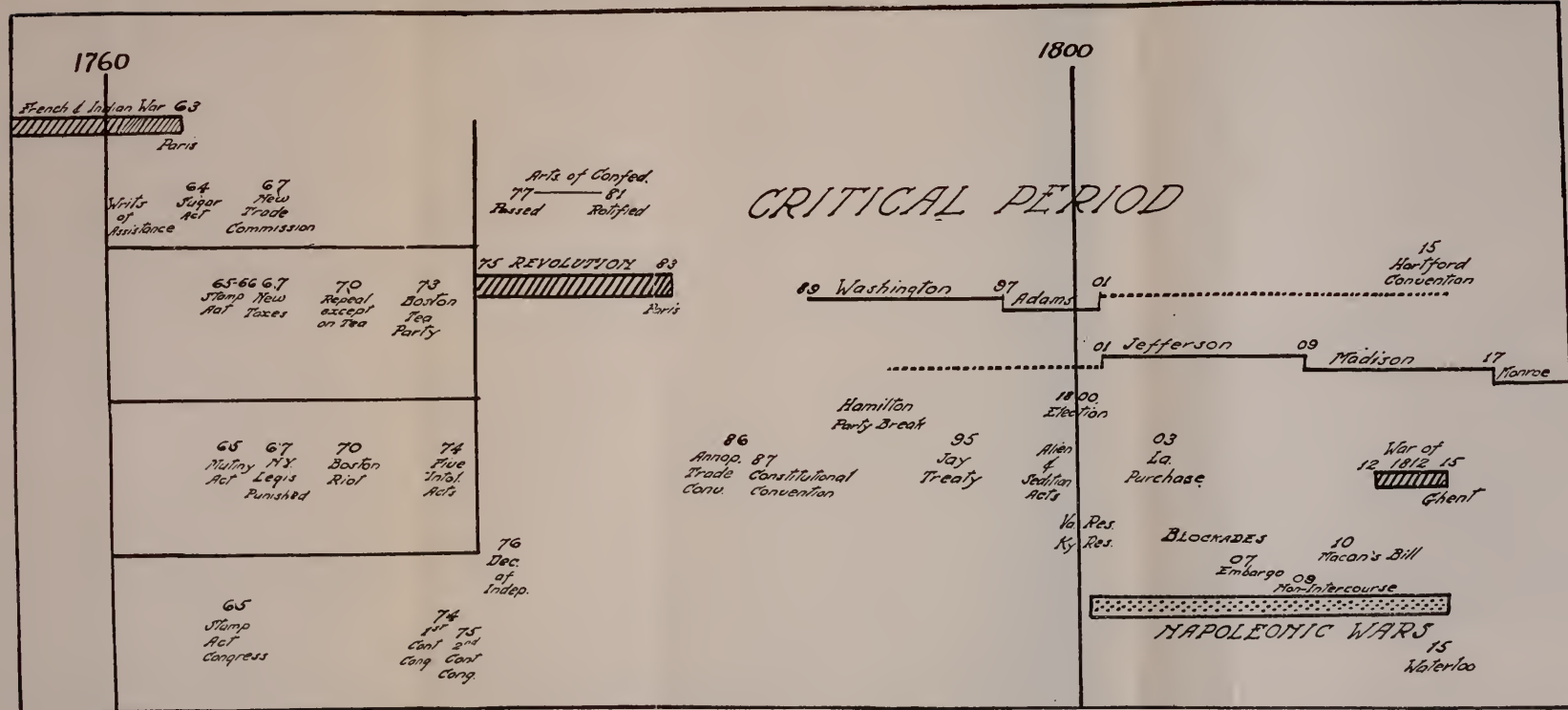
(3) An act suspending the New York Legislature because they had not appropriated money to support British soldiers as had been ordered by the Mutiny Act.

These acts met opposition of a more subdued nature. *Samuel Adams*, of Massachusetts, wrote a protest to the king; *John Dickinson*, of Pennsylvania, began to write his Farmers' Letters. Non-importation agreements were revived.

1770—The Boston Massacre.

In this year, also, the taxes of the Townshend Acts were all repealed except that on tea.

CHART OF THE REVOLUTIONARY AND NATIONAL PERIODS



1773—The Boston Tea Party. The king sought to aid the East India Company by sending the tea very cheaply to America. The presence of a small tax, however, made the colonists reject the tea and the affair in Boston followed.

1774—This act of defiance resulted in the passage of the FIVE INTOLERABLE ACTS. (1) The Boston Port bill, closing the port of Boston; (2) The Massachusetts Act, which took away the charter of Massachusetts and gave it a military government; (3) The Quartering Act, for the billeting of troops on the people; (4) An act for the sending of certain offenders to England for trial; and (5) The Quebec Act, extending the territories controlled by Quebec, a province which was both absolutely governed and Catholic.

The opposition to these measures did not come by any means from a united American people. It is estimated that the population of the colonies at this time was 2,500,000. These were distributed as follows:

1,500,000 neutrals, who cared nothing for the quarrel.

250,000 Tories, or those who sided with the king.

750,000 Patriots or Revolutionists.

The result of the Intolerable Acts was that, in 1774, there met the FIRST CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, which is called the First Party Convention, because it was a meeting representing only the patriot party. This Congress made protests and again stated their case to the king.

In 1775, the SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS met. By this time actual hostilities began and this Congress, although it had no real authority, took charge of the war and appointed Washington commander-in-chief.

In 1775, there was very little sentiment in favor of independence, but in the next year opinion in the Patriot Party turned, and in 1776, the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, was signed. This recited the grievances of the colonies and stated that they were free and independent.

The Continental Congress, which was the only governing body, had no real authority, its powers being all assumed. In order to get the states to delegate definite powers, Congress passed the ARTICLES OF FEDERATION in 1777. The structure of the government thus established should be learned.

THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE ARTICLES OF CON-FEDERATION:

1. No executive was provided.
Had to depend upon state governors to enforce laws of Congress.
2. No courts provided.
State courts only.
3. There was a CONGRESS.
One House: 2 to 7 members from each state not according to population.
Powers: To conduct foreign relations.
Raise and control an army.
Raise money by (1) borrowing, (2) levying quotas, (3) making it.
Powers denied to Congress:
To tax the people and collect the tax.
To regulate commerce of any kind.

The defects of this government are obvious to us.

Provision was made that these Articles were to go into effect when all 13 of the colonies had ratified them. Ratification was difficult. The greatest stumbling block was the fact that several of the states (Virginia, Massachusetts, Connecticut, chiefly) had conflicting land claims in the region north of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi. This tract is called the NORTHWEST TERRITORY. The matter was finally settled when the states all gave up their Western lands to the new central government. This cession had very important results, among which were:

1. It made possible the ratification of the Articles of Confederation.

2. It gave an impulse to union by the common ownership of land.
3. It made necessary an act to govern this land, the NORTHWEST ORDINANCE.

1787—The NORTHWEST ORDINANCE was passed to govern the Northwest Territory. It provided that the government should go through three stages:

1. It was to be governed by a governor and some judges appointed by Congress; they to select laws from those in force in other states.
2. When the population reached 5000, the voters were to elect an assembly to make laws, subject to the veto of the governor. A delegate was to sit in Congress.
3. When the population reached 60,000, *Congress might* admit as a state on an equality with the original states.

This was the beginning of our colonial system, which is an original American institution. Our colonies, which have been admitted as States, now outnumbered threefold the original mother country.

1783—The Treaty of Paris closed the Revolution. Some of its terms were:

England agreed:

1. To give up all land east of the Mississippi.
2. To pay for slaves taken in the United States.

The United States agreed:

1. To see that Loyalists were not mistreated.
2. To see that the collection of debts to Englishmen should not be obstructed.

Neither side lived up to the terms of this treaty and the whole question was opened later at the time of Jay's Treaty in Washington's administration.

THE CRITICAL PERIOD.

With the independence of the states granted, a period followed which was very serious for the following reasons:

1. Foreign commerce was at a standstill.
2. Interstate commerce was small because of state rivalry.
3. The currency was depreciated.
4. The resulting stoppage of industry brought practical anarchy.
5. The government was unable to remedy the situation.

A number of remedies to this situation were suggested, among which were:

1. An amendment giving Congress the right to regulate commerce. The required unanimous ratification could not be gotten.
2. The Mount Vernon Conference. Did little but call the next Convention.
3. 1786. THE ANNAPOLIS TRADE CONVENTION. Only five states represented. Did nothing but arrange for a new convention the following year.
4. 1787. THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION in Philadelphia.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

The 1787 convention contained most of the great men of the country. Washington was chairman. They met to revise the Articles of Confederation, but it soon became evident that a new constitution was needed. The Virginia delegates drafted a plan which they proposed. This is called the VIRGINIA PLAN or the RANDOLPH PLAN or the BIG STATE PLAN. It provided for three departments to the government, the legislative bodies to be based upon population.

This latter provision would be distasteful to the small states, and they, through Patterson, of New Jersey, introduced a plan providing for equal representation for all the states.

This plan was called the NEW JERSEY PLAN or the PATTERSON PLAN or the SMALL STATE PLAN.

After a great struggle the two sides agreed to compromise, and it was decided to have the lower house based upon population and the upper house with equal representation. This is the First Great Compromise.

The second compromise was as to whether slaves should be counted in the population. It was finally decided to count five slaves as three.

The third Compromise was on the control of the slave trade. It was decided that Congress could not interfere with this trade for twenty years.

After a few months of strenuous sessions, the convention adopted the constitution and provided that it was to go into effect when nine of the states had ratified it. The struggle for ratification was bitter. The people had fought the Revolution to get away from a strong central government and they were not anxious to get into another one of their own making. New York was a crucial state and it was swung over by *Alexander Hamilton* almost single-handed. Hamilton, Madison and Jay wrote a series of papers, the FEDERALIST papers, explaining the new government, which had a great influence. Finally the required nine states were secured and the constitution went into effect with the inauguration of Washington in 1789.

THE GOVERNMENT UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

1. Executive.

President. At least 35 years old. Native born. Term four years.

Elected by Presidential electors chosen by states. (Look up.)

Powers:

Enforce the laws of Congress.

Carry on foreign relations.

Command army and navy.

Veto or approve laws of Congress.

Make treaties and appointments. (Senate.)

2. Legislative:

House of Representatives.

Age 25. Term two years. Elected by voters.

Sole Powers:

1. Impeachment.
2. Initiate money bills.
3. Elect President if electors do not.

Senate.

Age 30. Term 6 years. Elected by legislatures.

Sole Powers:

1. Try impeachment cases.
2. Ratify treaties.
3. Ratify appointments.

3. Judiciary:

Supreme Court and other courts.

Judges of Supreme Court appointed by President for life.

Tries cases dealing with Constitution or U. S. laws, or in which the U. S. is a party or between two states, etc.

Congress is given a list of DELEGATED POWERS, among which are the power to tax and the power to regulate commerce—both interstate and foreign. This list of powers has been interpreted very liberally to make the Constitution fit modern conditions.

AMENDMENTS.

The ratification of some of the states was secured by a promise that there would be passed immediately a series of amendments safeguarding the rights of the people. Therefore there were passed the first ten amendments, which were called the AMERICAN BILL OF RIGHTS, providing for such things as free speech, religious freedom, right of jury trials, etc.

The other amendments will be taken up at the proper place.

THE NEW NATION

GEORGE WASHINGTON—1789-1797.

The first electoral college chose George Washington unanimously. His task was to organize the new government. To aid him in administration several departments were organized. To manage foreign affairs came the State Department, with *Thomas Jefferson* as Secretary of State; *Alexander Hamilton* was made Secretary of the Treasury; *General Knox* was Secretary of War; *Edmund Randolph* was Attorney General. These officers were not appointed as a CABINET. The SENATE was intended to be an advisory body to the President. This plan proved impossible, and Washington took to the practice of asking advice from the heads of the departments and the Cabinet as at present formed grew up outside of the Constitution.

THE TREASURY—(Hamilton)

Hamilton found the country practically bankrupt, with no credit, no income and a depreciated currency. His recommendations to Congress were passed by that body as follows:

1. FUNDING THE DEBT. This was the issuance of new bonds to all creditors of the government, thus recognizing all debts at par. The effect of this was to materially raise the credit of the government.

2. ASSUMPTION OF STATE DEBTS. The states had contracted debts during the Revolution, paying for armies, etc. This was really a national duty and Hamilton wanted Congress to fund these state debts with its own. The states, notably Virginia, which had paid most of their debts, objected, but Virginia was bought over by the agreement that the new capital should be put on the Potomac.

3. IMPORT AND EXCISE TAXES. Although they would bring in little revenue, Hamilton had Congress pass acts

putting taxes on imports and on some goods made in this country, notably liquors. The farmers of western Pennsylvania refused to pay the whiskey tax, thus putting the new government to the first test. Would it insist upon its authority? Washington called upon the troops and put down this **WHISKEY REBELLION**, thus establishing a sound precedent.

4. **A UNITED STATE BANK.** To carry on the financial work of the government Hamilton wanted a bank chartered in which the United States should hold part of the stock, the bank to transact all government business. This met opposition from a great party led by *Jefferson*, who claimed that Congress had no power under the Constitution to charter a bank. They insisted upon **STRICT CONSTRUCTION** and they formed a party which took the name **REPUBLICAN**. Hamilton said that the Constitution must be subject to **LOOSE CONSTRUCTION**, giving much power to the central government, and his party took the name **FEDERALIST**. Much debate followed upon the "necessary and proper" clause. The Federalist party had the most of the moneyed or creditor class, while the Republican party had the masses of non-moneyed or debtor classes. Congress chartered the bank.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

ENGLAND. Neither side had lived up to the Treaty of 1783. Moreover the United States needed a commercial treaty with Britain to secure some trade with British colonies. *John Jay*, who had been the first Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, was sent to England, and he negotiated *JAY'S TREATY 1795*. This treaty repeated the terms of the Treaty of 1783, but such was the lack of respect toward the United States as a nation that no commercial privileges could be gained. The treaty was very unsatisfactory to the people of this country, but it is now thought that Jay did as much as could have been done at the time.

SPAIN. A treaty was secured with Spain granting to us the right to use the mouth of the Mississippi River.

FRANCE. In 1789 the French Revolution had occurred and the Revolutionary party had gone to war with England. They claimed that in accordance with our treaty of alliance of 1778, we were bound to aid them. We were in no condition for war and Washington issued his PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY, claiming that the treaty held only in case of a defensive war. The French then sent over *Citizen Genet*, to try to secure the aid, and he shared the general European idea that we had no government which was to be respected. Genet landed at Charlestown, S. C., and on his way north acted as if the United States were already in the war. He arranged for captured prizes to be brought here, for admiralty courts of France, for troops, etc., and met some popular approval. Finally, however, he became bolder and there was a reaction against him, and, at the request of Washington, he was recalled.

JOHN ADAMS—1797-1801—Federalist.

France, angered at this rebuff, and at our making a treaty with England, began to attack our shipping and, finally, *Talleyrand* refused to receive our minister. We sent three envoys to obtain redress, and they were met by three Frenchmen, known as X, Y and Z, who finally announced a demand for a \$250,000 tribute. A cry for war arose in America, and a short naval war followed, which was ended when Napoleon came into power in France.

The Republican Party had taken sides with France in this quarrel, and the Federalist party in power, against France and with England. The Federalists, in fear of the mass of French sympathizers passed the ALIEN AND SEDITION ACTS, enabling the President to remove from the country objectionable aliens and punishing any persons criticising the government.

These acts were branded as unconstitutional by the Republicans, and formal protest was made by the VIRGINIA AND

KENTUCKY RESOLUTIONS, in which, under the leadership of Jefferson and Madison, these two states held that a state need not obey a law of Congress if the state thought it unconstitutional. This is one of the first cases of the theory of states' rights and nullification.

This quarrel solidified the Republican party to such an extent that they were able to win the *election in 1800* by a good majority. Jefferson called this election the REVOLUTION OF 1800, since he claimed that the capitalistic class had been ousted from the government and the people returned to control.

According to the constitutional method of electing the President, the electors wrote two names on each ballot. The party organization of the Republicans was so perfect that all their electors wrote the same two names, JEFFERSON and BURR, with the unexpected result that there was a TIE. This had to be settled by the House, and they finally elected Jefferson.

With the great change in parties, the Federalists made a last attempt to retain some control when John Adams spent the last few days in office making thousands of appointments to government offices, the MIDNIGHT APPOINTMENTS. Many of these were turned out by Jefferson, but he could not change the most important of these, that of JOHN MARSHALL as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

THOMAS JEFFERSON—1801-1809—Republican.

One of the fundamental principles of the Republican party was economy in government expenditures, and, under *Albert Gallatin*, Secretary of the Treasury, the debt was gradually reduced. Another great doctrine of the party was Strict Construction, but this was soon neutralized by the Louisiana Purchase.

1803—LOUISIANA PURCHASE.

By a secret treaty with Spain, Napoleon, who was in power in France, had gotten Louisiana. We began negotiations to get a little strip at the mouth of the river, but when Napoleon became discouraged in his attempt at an empire, and needed money, he offered to sell the whole tract for \$15,000,000. Jefferson concluded the purchase in 1803. There being nothing in the Constitution about the purchase of new territory, this was counter to Jefferson's political faith. "Strict construction never meant the same after the Louisiana Purchase."

After buying Louisiana, explorers were sent out to examine it; among whom the most notable were *Levis and Clark*, who got as far as Oregon, and *Pike*, who went into the Southwest.

THE NAPOLEONIC WARS.

With Jefferson's inauguration we come to the period of the wars of Napoleon, which were to last until 1815. To hinder the enemy, each side, England and France, passed edicts known as ORDERS IN COUNCIL or DECREES, which were Paper Blockades of the enemy coasts. Our ships going either to England or France were taken as prizes, a practice which we claimed was against international law, and a violation of neutral rights. Protests did no good, and in 1807 Congress passed the EMBARGO Act, prohibiting ships to leave our ports for Europe, in the hope that want of our products would make the nations give in. This did not happen and our shipping interests demanded that it be repealed. In 1809, the NON-INTERCOURSE ACT was passed, shutting off trade with only the warring nations. This was also unsuccessful, and in 1810 was passed MACON'S BILL, which was a shameful bid for rights. We agreed that if either nation would remove the objectionable acts, we would agree not to trade with the other. France made the agreement, but did not abide by it. There we leave the quarrel until the next administration.

JAMES MADISON—1809-1817—Republican

With this administration a new man, *Henry Clay*, appears in Washington, to be a leading actor for the next forty years. He saw in the actions of Europe a cause for war, and became the leader of the "War Hawks," finally getting Congress to declare war upon England in 1812. It must be remembered that Congress was divided, the Republicans siding with France against England, and the Federalists, who were strong in New England, with England against France. The war was very unpopular in New England and was called Mr. Madison's War.

On land the war was rather unsuccessful and the Federalists became more and more discontented. In addition to a refusal to support the government, the opposition became more active with the calling of the HARTFORD CONVENTION in 1815. This convention passed measures looking toward constitutional amendments to make another war to which they objected impossible, and to take the control of the Presidency from Virginia. The delegates arrived in Washington at the same time as the news of the victory at New Orleans, and in the state of mind of the nation after a victory, the movement had little effect other than to practically KILL THE FEDERALIST PARTY. It never again put up a candidate.

The causes of the war may be stated:

1. Illegal blockading.
2. Impressment of our sailors.

The TREATY OF GHENT, which closed the war, was nothing but an agreement to stop fighting. England refused positively to agree that either of these practices should be discontinued. The end of the Napoleonic Wars removed the causes for them, however.

It will have been seen that before the War of 1812 our political independence gained in the Revolution was of little use to us. Genet, the X, Y, Z affair, the Orders in Council and Decrees all showed our real dependence upon Europe.

After 1807 came a change. The Embargo cut us off from Europe and we began manufacturing; for a market we began to look to our own West. This development brought an entire change in policy after 1816. In quick succession we have the first PROTECTIVE TARIFF, the ARMY AND NAVY BILL, the building of the NATIONAL ROAD and the ERIE CANAL, and as we shall see later a new confidence in our foreign affairs resulting in the Florida episode in 1819 and the Monroe Doctrine of 1823. The year 1816 marks the beginning of the *nation*.

JAMES MONROE—1817-1825.—Republican

Since the Hartford Convention had ruined the Federalist party, Monroe was elected with but one party in the field and so he called it an ERA OF GOOD FEELING. It was not this in reality, as new issues soon arose.

1819—FLORIDA.

In 1783 Spain had received Florida, and was unable to police it properly. The Indians made repeated raids across our border. Andrew Jackson was sent down to drive out the Indians, and in his zeal continued into Florida, incidentally executing some British subjects. He was hurriedly recalled, but a demand was made upon Spain that she should either properly police Florida, or sell it to us, stating that if she did neither, we would take it. She sold it to us in 1819.

1820—THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE.

The great slavery question in the United States is whether SLAVERY SHOULD BE ADMITTED INTO THE NEW TERRITORY. The question only became important after the acquisition of new territory. The Louisiana Purchase began to fill with people after the war and the question came up soon, "shall it be slave or free?" The Southerners held that Congress could pass no law on the subject, since the word "terri-

tory" in Section 3, Clause 2, meant land actually owned by the government and not land merely governed. Congress looked at it from the northern standpoint and passed the Missouri Compromise in 1820, making Missouri a slave state, but shutting slavery out of all "territory" north of the line 36-30. Congress had a strong hold on the situation. Watch how this attitude changes in 1850, a change which brought the Civil War.

1823—THE MONROE DOCTRINE.

At the Congress of Vienna, 1815, the monarchs of Europe, to prevent a repetition of the French Revolution, made an alliance, agreeing that if a revolution broke out in any of their lands they would all unite to put it down and keep themselves in power. This agreement was worked both in Spain and in Italy. An unexpected case came when the Spanish colonies in South America revolted under the leadership of *San Martin* and *Bolivar*. The Alliance threatened to send forces to regain the colonies for Spain. This was distasteful to England, which had secured quite a trade with the new Latin states. The English minister, *George Canning*, not wishing to act alone, suggested to the United States that the two nations jointly prevent the action of the alliance. Our Secretary of State, *John Quincy Adams*, and the President were against a joint action. We were interested from the standpoint of self-protection. We were also interested because the Russians in the west were adding to their territory south of Alaska. Finally we decided to protest alone and, in 1823, Monroe, in a message to Congress, voiced what is known as the MONROE DOCTRINE. It is a statement of our policy which says that the Americas shall not be considered as open to settlement by any European nation, and that if any European nation should get more land over here, it would be considered by us as an *unfriendly act*. This statement had the desired effect at the time largely because we were backed by the English fleet. The Monroe Doctrine is

now considered by the United States as a national policy. Watch through the remainder of the history for incidents involving the Monroe Doctrine, and come to your own decision as to whether we ought still to hold to it.

1824—THE ELECTION OF 1824.

There being only one party in the field, the election became a struggle between favorite candidates of different sections. The candidates were Jackson, J. Q. Adams, Crawford, Clay and Calhoun. Calhoun dropped out and the other candidates finished in the order named, with no one having the required majority. As provided in the Constitution, the House had to elect from the first three. Clay, who thus was ruled out, was the Speaker of the House. His influence was used to elect Adams.

The election had two important results. Adams chose Clay Secretary of State, and it was claimed that there was a corrupt deal between them. There was probably no such deal, but the suspicion killed Clay politically. The other result was the attitude of Jackson. Being convinced that he had been defeated by a deal, he began at once to organize a new party for the next election. Thus we have a split in the Republican party. The Adams men took the name National Republicans and afterwards WHIGS; the Jackson men were the Democratic Republicans or the DEMOCRATS. The two parties lasted until after 1854.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS—1825-1829—Whig.

This administration saw little done because of party strife. *Clay*, the Secretary of State, was a great influence. One of his hobbies, while in the House, was the recognition of the South American Republics. He kept his interest in them and advocated a conference of all the Latin-American states called for Panama. The conference was held, although our delegates

did not arrive in time for it. These congresses have been held at intervals ever since, the subjects discussed being now mostly of a commercial nature.

Clay preached a doctrine which he called the AMERICAN SYSTEM, that the development of the United States internally was a function of the central government. This could be done by protective tariffs, by the building of roads, the latter at federal expense, and by other national improvements. This period saw the passage of two protective tariffs, 1824 and 1828, the latter called by the South, the TARIFF OF ABOMINATIONS. South Carolina particularly objected, since she had to buy all of her manufactures and since she was in bad condition financially, due to the decline in the price of her long-staple cotton. Led by *John C. Calhoun*, she passed the SOUTH CAROLINA EXPOSITION, which stated that the law was unconstitutional, not being uniform, and for that reason the state did not propose to obey it. It suggested that the matter be decided by a referendum to the states, a three-fourths vote of the states in favor of the law settling it. In the meantime an attempt to enforce the law would be resisted with force.

ANDREW JACKSON—1829-1837—Democrat.

Jackson met the situation in South Carolina by preparing to use force to collect the tax, but Congress put the decision off by passing the Compromise Tariff of 1833, which reduced the tariff.

Jackson went into office as a man of the common people; he began with a very riotous and inelegant inaugural reception, and proceeded to disregard many of the precedents set for the President. He got most of his advice from a group of his unofficial friends, a group known as the "Kitchen Cabinet." He turned out of office thousands of his political enemies, this practice getting the name the "Spoils System." With these offices he rewarded his own followers.

The sectionalism which had cropped out in the struggle over the Tariff of 1828 became more evident. The North and the South each was bidding for the support of the new West. One episode is famous. In a debate on Foote's Resolution on the disposal of western lands, there came a debate between *Webster* of the North and *Hayne* of the South, which turned upon the question of State Rights. Hayne held that the states were superior to the Federal government, while Webster held that the nation was supreme and the states subordinate. The debate had no immediate results but it points the direction in which the two sections are traveling.

The great episode of Jackson's time was his fight upon the U. S. Bank. The bank was first chartered at the request of Hamilton and its charter had been once renewed, the renewed charter expiring in 1836. Jackson was against the bank because he held that:

1. It was unfair for a small group of men to profit from the use of government money.
2. It was unsafe for a small group of men to control the government surplus, which at the time was very great.
3. The bank had been a political force against Jackson. This last was probably the important consideration.

It seemed that Congress would charter the bank and so Jackson took the question into the campaign of 1832. He was elected upon a platform calling for the destruction of the bank, and he immediately decided to destroy it. The Secretary of the Treasury was ordered to withdraw the U. S. funds; he refused, and was replaced by a new man. He in turn refused and was removed. Finally *Taney* was appointed and he withdrew the funds. The bank, after a short struggle, went out of existence.

The next question was what to do with this money. Jackson decided to distribute it among the state banks. This would distribute the profits and the control of the money. To get this money hundreds of banks, with little backing, sprang up all over the land. They are the WILDCAT BANKS. Many

banks, the PET BANKS, received more than their share of the money.

This distribution brought a lot of money into the market just at the time of a great movement toward the purchase of western lands. The banks lent this money on the security of western lands; they issued millions in bank notes; the circulation became highly inflated. Then Jackson did two things which brought a crisis. He decided to distribute a great balance in the Treasury among the states. The banks were called upon to produce much of the government deposit. At the same time he issued the SPECIE CIRCULAR, demanding that all payments to the government for lands be in gold and silver. These two demands upon the banks were more than many of them could stand and there ensued the Panic of 1837. This came in the next administration.

In the meantime history was being made in Texas, which was a part of Mexico. The fine lands of Texas had attracted thousands of Americans, who had gone there encouraged by the Mexican government. In the period of Jackson, Mexico attached Texas to the Mexican State of Coahuila, thereby putting the Americans and their property under the rule of the Mexican government of that province. Protests came forth and hostilities soon started, the Texans led by *Sam Houston*. At the *Alamo* the Mexican *Santa Anna* massacred a garrison, but at *San Jacinto*, the Mexicans were defeated by Houston (1836), and Texas was recognized as an independent state. The American population of Texas immediately applied for admission to the union. It would be a slave state and its admission was opposed by Northern Congressmen. It was not finally admitted until 1845.

Jackson had absolute control of his party machinery and practically named the next President. He had planned to put Calhoun forward, but he discovered that Calhoun had been opposed to his part in the Florida struggle way back in 1818-19, and so Jackson turned to Martin VanBuren, a New York politician.

MARTIN VAN BUREN—1837-1841—Democrat.

Van Buren came into office with the Panic of 1837. This panic had two important results:

1. To do away with bank troubles the government established an INDEPENDENT TREASURY SYSTEM.

2. The selling of western lands being part of the cause of the trouble, the government began the practice of giving away the lands to actual settlers.

In this period the slavery question began to have a *moral* turn. The work of *William Lloyd Garrison*, the editor of the LIBERATOR, showed the most radical side. His ideas were not generally accepted at first. Gradually the North began to line up in opposition to slavery. By means of the UNDERGROUND RAILWAY, runaway slaves were aided to Canada. Anti-slavery petitions began to flood into Congress. This movement was making for a break between the two sections.

At the next election, the Whigs, with *William Henry Harrison* as candidate, carried on a spirited campaign. Remembering Harrison's victory over the Indians, the Whigs used the campaign cry "Tippecanoe and Tyler, too," and won out.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON (TYLER—1841-1845—Whig.

Harrison died soon after his inauguration and Tyler, who was really a Democrat, became President. He had trouble with the Whig Congress and very little was accomplished.

The WEBSTER-ASHBURTON TREATY settled the boundary line between Maine and Canada.

We have already traced the Texas question up to the demand for admission to the union. This question became an issue at the election of 1844; the Democrats favored admission and the Whigs, with *Clay* as their candidate, opposed admission. *Polk*, the Democratic candidate, won. Between election and inauguration Tyler decided that if annexation was inevitable

he might as well have the credit for it, and Texas was admitted early in 1845.

JAMES K. POLK—1845-1849—Democrat.

MANIFEST DESTINY is an expression used to describe the feeling of national ambition which pervaded the nation during this decade. A feeling was widecast that the United States should extend to the Pacific. This would necessitate the acquisition of the land west of the Rockies. The Northern half of this was OREGON. This was claimed by the United States because of the work of Lewis and Clarke, Captain Gray and the settlement of Astor and others. England claimed it chiefly by the discovery of Drake. In 1818, it had been decided that the territory should be occupied jointly. After 1840 we find a demand that England give up her claims. Marcus Whitman, a missionary, had gone there in 1835, and inspired much interest in the region. The introduction of Linn's Bill shows the interest of Congress. The nation soon demanded that England give up her claims as far north as $54^{\circ}-40'$ —"54-40 or Fight." In 1846, the matter was adjusted by dividing this territory; the boundary was fixed at the 49th parallel.

The acquisition of the rest of the territory demanded by manifest destiny was hastened by a quarrel with Mexico, who owned the southern section. The causes for our troubles with Mexico may be summarized:

1. The demand for California (Manifest Destiny).
2. The desire for the adjustment of debts owed to some of our citizens by the government of Mexico.
3. A dispute over the boundary, Mexico claiming that it was the *Nueces* River, and the United States claiming that it was the *Rio Grande*.

Slidell was sent to Mexico with the suggestion that the debts be settled by the cession of California, but our activities along the border when our troops invaded the contested area,

caused Mexico to refuse to treat with our envoy. War then was precipitated, in which the United States won every battle.

The treaty which closed the war provided:

1. The boundary of Texas to be the Rio Grande.
2. The United States to get all the territory between Oregon and Texas north of the Gila River.
3. The United States to pay Mexico \$15,000,000, and the money claims to be arranged for.

It is stated by some that this war was unjustified, and that it was a steal by a stronger nation from a weaker. Come to some definite decision yourself on this point.

The acquisition of all this new territory brought the slavery question once more to the fore. First it was brought up when the House was to appropriate money to end the war. The WILMOT PROVISIO was tacked onto the bill as an amendment. It provided that no slavery should ever exist in the land acquired from Mexico. In the debate in Congress this clause was defeated, but the struggle for it showed the attitude of the two sections.

ZACHARY TAYLOR—1849-1853—Whig.

The questions at issue between the North and South, chiefly that of slavery in the Mexican cession, had to be settled. *Clay* once more led and, after a violent debate, secured the passage of the OMNIBUS BILL or the COMPROMISE OF 1850. The chief provision was that Congress decided not to dictate whether this territory should be slave or free, but left it to the localities to decide—SQUATTER SOVEREIGNTY. The importance of this is in the change of attitude since 1820. Then Congress took upon itself the right to shut slavery out of the territory; in 1850, Congress assumed that it had no such power, which was a violent swing toward the Southern point of view. This act applied only to the Mexican cession, but with this attitude in Congress, the South immediately began to think of having the Missouri Compromise repealed. Other

provisions of the bill of 1850 were a new and stricter Fugitive Slave Law, making it the duty of federal officials to aid in returning runaway slaves; the prohibition of the slave trade in the District of Columbia; the admission of California as a free state. This latter had been made necessary by the discovery of gold in that region in 1849, resulting in a great rush of the 49'ers into the gold field.

In 1850, Taylor died, and Fillmore became President.

The opening of California brought up the question of a canal across Panama. England, with her policy of controlling the seas, did not relish the idea of the building of such a canal by the United States, and so we agreed to the CLAYTON-BULWER Treaty, by which it was agreed that if a canal were to be built it would be a joint project. This treaty held until it was superseded by the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty in 1901.

FRANKLIN PIERCE—1853-1857—Democrat.

In this administration the question of the right of Congress to rule slavery out of the territories once more became acute. This right, which had been taken in 1820, had ruled slavery out of the Louisiana Purchase north of 36-30. The change of front indicated by the act of 1850 reopened the question, and there was a determination to get Congress to repeal the Missouri Compromise. *Stephen A. Douglas*, the Senator from Illinois, from motives that are not altogether clear, introduced the KANSAS-NEBRASKA BILL, and secured its passage in 1854. This provided that the Missouri Compromise should be repealed, and that the territory north of 36-30 should be organized into two territories, which should, when they were ready to enter the union, decide for themselves whether they should be slave or free. This gave the South a complete victory, as they now had access to all the territories, and that was the kernel of the slavery dispute. This bill had two great results:

1. Since popular vote was to decide in each territory whether it was to enter as a slave state or a free state, both Northerners and Southerners flocked into Kansas, and attempted to kill off the opposing voters before election. Thus the BLOODY KANSAS episode, in which John Brown first becomes prominent.

2. The victory of the Southerners showed those opposed to the extension of slavery that their only hope of success was to get control of the government. This could be done only by the organization of a new party, as the two old parties would not take sides upon the question. Those opposed to the extension of slavery into the territories began to unite and we find the beginning of the present-day REPUBLICAN PARTY.

The publication of "Uncle Tom's Cabin," by *Harriet Beecher Stowe*, did much to fire the spirits of the Northerners, particularly of the Abolitionists.

JAMES BUCHANAN—1857-1861—Democrat.

The Republican Party had not sufficient strength to win this election, although they had a candidate in the field. The need for the new party was accentuated by the DRED SCOTT DECISION in 1856.

DRED SCOTT was a slave who had been taken into territory made free by the Missouri Compromise. He thereupon claimed his freedom and the fight was carried to the Supreme Court, where it was decided, among other things, that Scott was not free because the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional, Congress having no power to legislate slavery out of the territories. This made a complete victory for the Southerners, and the new Republicans became more determined to win control of the government.

This constitutional point was the chief subject of the LINCOLN-DOUGLAS DEBATES. *Lincoln and Douglas* were candidates for the Senate from Illinois, and they arranged a series of meetings where they should speak from the same plat-

form. Douglas was a Northern Democrat, and Lincoln, a Republican, with leanings toward abolition. Douglas upheld "Squatter Sovereignty" as the principle of his Kansas-Nebraska Bill. At the *Freeport* debate, Lincoln, by a skillful question, got Douglas to say that people of the territory itself could keep slavery out, although Congress could not. This appeased the people of Illinois, and Douglas was elected to the Senate, but it angered the South so that they would have none of Douglas when he came up for the Presidency in 1860.

John Brown, whom we have seen in Kansas, in 1859, took it upon himself to free the slaves, and in the process he attacked the government arsenal at Harper's Ferry. He was captured and hanged for treason, but the excitement added to the ferment which made the election of 1860 one of the most violently contested in history.

In 1860, the Republicans passed over Seward, the logical candidate, and nominated *Abraham Lincoln*, upon a platform calling for the abolition of slavery in the Territories. The Democrats nominated *Stephen A. Douglas*. His Freeport Doctrine had so angered the South that they left the convention and put up a separate candidate, *Breckinridge*. Some of the middle states did not wish to take a violent ground upon the subject of the day, and formed a Union Party, nominating *Bell*, upon a neutral platform.

The South frankly threatened that if Lincoln won upon such a platform as the Republicans had adopted, they would not remain in the union. At the *Election of 1860* the Republicans won, largely because of the split in the Democratic ranks, and the Southern states, led by South Carolina, immediately announced their secession.

Opinion in the North was divided, many able men being in favor of allowing the South to secede. The break came when South Carolina attempted to capture the government property in her harbor and fired upon Fort Sumter. This firing upon the flag was what was needed to arouse the North and an army was recruited. The fighting continued four years, with the government finally successful.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN—1861-1865—Republican.

The administration of Lincoln is taken up entirely with the Civil War. The chief men of his cabinet were *Seward*, Secretary of State; *Stanton*, Secretary of War, and *Chase*, Secretary of the Treasury. The military history of the war will not be considered here. Note first the foreign relations of the period.

RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND.

England, with her big interests in the manufacture of cotton from the South and in the sale of goods to the South, had nothing to lose and everything to gain by the success of the Southern cause. The government of England issued a proclamation of neutrality, itself a blow at the North because it gave the rebels as we called them, the rights of belligerents.

Great friction came when *Mason and Slidell*, two Southern envoys, were taken from an English vessel by a United States captain, thus violating the neutral rights of English ships. After some debate the men were ordered given up to England.

The most serious trouble came when an English firm fitted out some ships of war for the South. In spite of the protests of our minister to England, *Adams*, the English government allowed the ships to sail, and they did great damage to United States shipping. The most important of these ships was the *ALABAMA*. After the war a demand was made that England pay for the damage done, and the matter was settled by arbitration.

As the war went on the people of England began to show their sympathy with the union cause and the government ceased to show active sympathy with the South.

SLAVERY.

When Lincoln was elected he stated that he had no intention of freeing the slaves. When General Fremont issued an order in Missouri, freeing the slaves there, Lincoln countermanded the order. However, as the war went on, it became very evident that the slaves were a great asset to the South and

Lincoln, in his capacity as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the United States, decided that they must be freed. On January 1, 1863, he issued the EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION, which stated that the slaves in *all states then in revolt* should be freed. It was a military measure and did not apply to the loyal states.

At the close of the war, by the regular process, the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution was put into force, and this freed all of the slaves in the United States.

LINCOLN AND ANDREW JOHNSON—1865-1869— Republican.

Lincoln was re-elected in 1864, but was killed soon after inauguration, and the Presidency fell upon Johnson, who had been a Democrat. The great problem now was the readmission of the seceded states which had been defeated in battle. Lincoln had formed a very simple plan, viz., that as soon as 10 per cent. of the voters in any state swore allegiance to the union, met in a convention and ratified the Thirteenth Amendment freeing the slaves and elected Congressmen who would swear allegiance, the state would be admitted immediately. This plan was accepted by Johnson, and began the process of what is known as RECONSTRUCTION.

When the new Congressmen came to Washington they found that the Republican Congress, under the leadership of *Thaddeus Stevens* in the House, and *Charles Sumner*, in the Senate, would not admit them. This was because:

1. They felt that it would be dangerous to the country for the recent rebels to hold the balance of power in Congress.
2. They maintained that justice required that the Southerners give to the negro rights equal to the rights of the whites.
3. Probably the biggest reason, although unexpressed, was the feeling that the coming of a large number of Democrats from the South, would endanger Republican domination of Congress.

These objections could be met if Congress should insist upon the disfranchisement of the whites who had been the leaders of the revolt and upon the enfranchisement of the negro. The latter would all be Republican.

Congress then passed its RECONSTRUCTION ACTS embodying these ideas. Johnson, angry at the overturning of his work, vetoed the acts, and Congress passed them over his veto. The chief points of the Congressional plan were:

1. The negroes were allowed to vote.
2. The white leaders to be disfranchised.
3. The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to be ratified.
4. Until these conditions were met the South to be governed by martial law.

The story here divides into two branches, the working out of the plan in the South and the Quarrel between Johnson and Congress.

JOHNSON AND CONGRESS.

Johnson began to veto every law sent to him by Congress, who, in turn, passed each bill over his veto. The President became abusive in his language and the breach widened. When the Congressional election of 1866 came, Johnson went on the stump with his famous "Swing Around the Circuit," making speeches which were to say the least, undignified. His efforts had no effect upon the election, and the members of Congress returned, determined to get even with Johnson—to impeach him, if possible.

An excuse for this latter came with the TENURE OF OFFICE ACT. Congress passed a law that the President could not dismiss an officer without their consent. Johnson wanted to dismiss *Stanton*, and believed the law unconstitutional. The only way to test this was to dismiss the officer and have the Supreme Court to act upon the case. Johnson dismissed *Stanton*. Instead of taking it to the court, Congress started impeachment proceedings. In the trial in the Senate,

the President was acquitted by one vote. Historians now generally agree that Johnson was in the right in the matter of the act.

RECONSTRUCTION IN THE SOUTH.

The plan prescribed by Congress was forced upon the South by the military power and soon the governments of the states were in the hands of the ignorant negro vote. This vote was dominated by Northern politicians called "*Carpenter-Baggers*," and by unscrupulous Southerners called "*Scallawags*." The whites of the South lived in a reign of terror while the states were being carried toward bankruptcy.

The problem of the South was much deeper than this political situation. Their troubles were:

1. Industrial and Economic. The four years of war upon their territory had destroyed their wealth and the producing power of the old plantations. Industrial life had to be re-established, and Congress did not touch this problem except in the matter of aiding negroes through the "Freedman's Aid Bureau," which developed into a machine to control the negro vote.

2. Labor. The abolition of slavery left the South with no labor class, and this had to be gradually remedied.

3. Social. The host of freed slaves used their new freedom to emphasize their equality with the whites.

4. Political. The governmental machinery was in the hands of the negro vote.

These conditions were not aided by federal action; indeed, they were accentuated. State action was impossible since the negroes controlled the government. The whites began to look to extra-legal relief, and an organization, the KU KLUX KLAN, was formed to terrorize the negroes into a respect for the whites in their social relations and to frighten them away from the voting places. The movement was pretty successful, and the whites soon regained control of the governments and

then disfranchised most of the blacks by literacy requirements for the vote. In the meantime the industrial conditions had been improved by the introduction of new industries, looking forward to what is today known as the NEW SOUTH. By 1876 the Reconstruction of the South was virtually complete.

THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1865

The history since 1865 will not be taken up chronologically, but rather by subjects. In order to make sure of the administrations they should be learned as follows:

ULYSSES S. GRANT.....	Republican	1869-1877
RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.....	Republican	1877-1881
JAMES A. GARFIELD (Arthur)....	Republican	1881-1885
GROVER CLEVELAND.....	Democratic	1885-1889
BENJAMIN HARRISON.....	Republican	1889-1893
GROVER CLEVELAND.....	Democratic	1893-1897
WILLIAM McKINLEY.....	Republican	1897-1901
McKINLEY and ROOSEVELT.....	Republican	1901-1905
THEODORE ROOSEVELT.....	Republican	1905-1909
WILLIAM H. TAFT.....	Republican	1909-1913
WOODROW WILSON.....	Democratic	1913-1921
WARREN G. HARDING.....	Republican	1921-

After the Civil War came a period which is characterized by a widespread discontent among all classes. Each of the important subjects of discontent is here taken up; the student should be sure to grasp the causes of the discontent and the chief attempts made to remedy the condition.

1. CORRUPTION IN THE GOVERNMENT.

In the administration of Grant there came to light a mass of corruption in all walks of life. Grant had been a good military leader but he was a poor President, his appointments to office being in many cases most unfortunate. This was not

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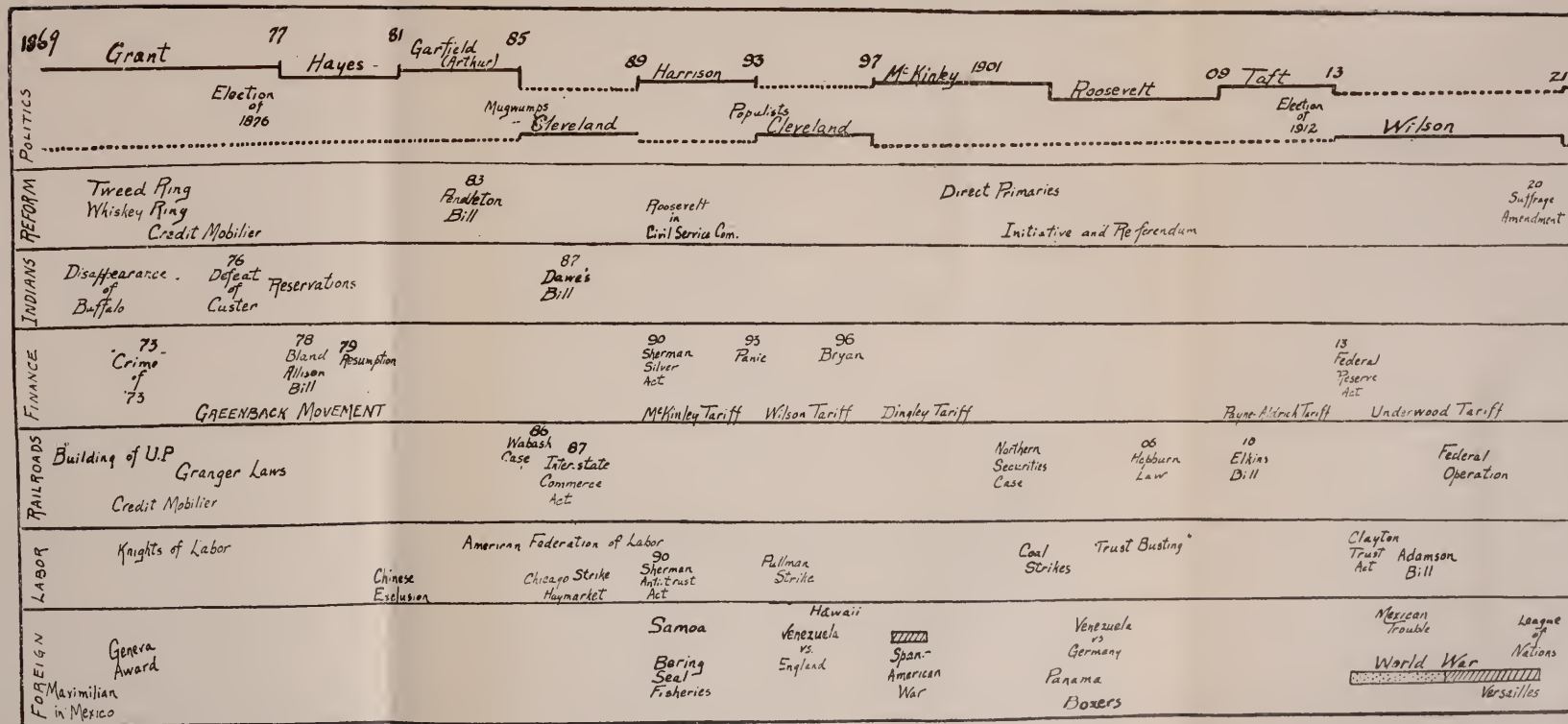
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the fundamental cause, however, as a wave seemed to strike the nation at large.

The corruption showed itself particularly in the city governments. This is the period of the TWEED RING in New York City, the Gas Ring in Philadelphia, and a like corrupt crowd in most of the other large cities. By dishonest methods, millions were stolen from the people in each of the cities.

The Federal government felt the difficulty also. THE WHISKEY RING in the St. Louis Custom House stole immense amounts of money on liquor taxes; the Credit Mobilier, a company which will be discussed when we treat of the railroads, was discovered to have presented much of its stock to Congressmen and other officials who could aid it by their influence.

Much of this fraud was laid at the door of the poor appointments of the President. By the Spoils System, which is attributed to Jackson, the offices of the government were thought of as rewards for political service. A movement is felt soon after 1870 which has for its object the abolition of the Spoils System by the appointment of officials only after competitive examinations—what we know today as the Civil Service Examinations. After Garfield had been shot by a disappointed office-seeker, the movement gained great headway, and in 1883, Congress passed the PENDLETON BILL.

The Pendleton Bill provided for a commission empowered to give examinations, and made it lawful for the President to appoint to office on the basis of this examination, *if he saw fit*. Note that the President was not compelled to do anything. The result was that each President had to face a struggle between his promises to the people to appoint after examinations, and the demands of his party followers for rewards for their party work. Each president has added a few more offices to the Civil Service list. Harrison appointed *Roosevelt* to the Civil Service Commission, to which work he brought his usual energy. Now most of the offices, except the administrative ones, are secured by examination.

This movement applied only to appointive offices. Very soon the development of the party machine and the BOSS brought about a state of affairs which made the voters demand more control over elective officers. A series of measures has come more recently which very greatly curbs the power of the boss. The student should get definite information about each of the following, and should see how each fits into this movement for a greater responsibility of elective officers: Direct Primaries, Corrupt Practice Acts, Australian Ballot, The Recall, Initiative and Referendum, Direct Election of Senators, Woman Suffrage.

2. THE CURRENCY.

During the Civil War a great mass of Greenbacks had been issued. These had depreciated until at the end of the war they were worth about 80 cents on the dollar. The period around 1870 is a period of expansion into the West, and much western land was bought and mortgaged when values were determined by a depreciated currency.

The government decided to recall the greenbacks as soon as possible. This would reduce the amount of money in circulation, and would have two effects upon the western farmer. It would make them pay their debts in a more valuable and more scarce currency and it would lower the price which they received for their produce. These two effects produced much distress and discontent in the Middle West.

The farmers decided that the cause of the whole trouble was the lack of the proper amount of money in circulation, and that it could be remedied if more greenbacks were issued. This would be unacceptable to the moneyed classes of the East, and the GREENBACK MOVEMENT of Grant's administration was a failure. The supply of money steadily fell and the distress continued.

Disappointed in their demand for greenbacks the farmers soon found a new source of supply—silver. In 1873, by the so-called Crime of 1873, the silver dollar had been dropped

from circulation. Aided by the silver miners of the Rockies, the farmers now began to demand increasing the supply of money by the COINAGE OF SILVER in an unlimited amount. Congress bowed to this demand by passing the BLAND-ALLISON SILVER BILL in 1878. This provided for the coinage of from two to four millions in silver per month.

The agitation did not stop, however, and the bill was replaced by the SHERMAN SILVER Act in 1890, which provided for an increase in the amount of silver to be bought, but which need not be coined in larger amounts. This was so unwise that it had to be repealed a few years later, leaving the silver issue again up in the air.

In 1896, *William Jennings Bryan*, from the Middle West, appeared at the Democratic Convention, and made a speech demanding the *Free and Unlimited Coinage of Silver at 16-1*. This was what his section wanted most of all and he was nominated on the Democratic ticket. The moneyed interests of the East saw that this would be fatal to their interests and, under the leadership of *Mark Hanna*, an Ohio business man, they elected the Republican nominee, *McKinley*. This is the last we hear of the silver issue, as the discovery of gold in the Klondike did much to remedy the shortage of coin.

3. THE RAILROADS.

Grant's administration had seen the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad, the route of which should be fixed in mind. This road had been capitalized by the grants of land by the government and by the sale of bonds, which were bought by everybody throughout the West in the great enthusiasm and the hope of great prosperity to come from the railroad. The stockholders put little money into the project, but they reaped rich rewards from such devices as the formation of a separate company, the CREDIT MOBILIER, with the same stockholders, to which the job of building the road was given at a great profit. Growing discontent among the people

because of these schemes was increased when the roads were built, and, instead of operating for the benefit of the farmers, they proceeded to use their great power for their own benefit, and to give very poor service at high rates. They used "discrimination," the favoring of one shipper at the expense of others; "pooling," by which competition was avoided and rates kept up.

This state of affairs hit directly at the middle western farmers, who were dependent upon the railroad to move their crops. In their own organization, the GRANGE, they discussed the situation and decided that the railroads had to be regulated by state legislation. The Grangers went into politics, elected their own members to the legislatures and in most of the Western states passed what are known as the GRANGER LAWS. These laws prohibited discrimination, pooling, and required that rates be reasonable.

Very soon, however, the courts decided that the wording of the Constitution gave to Congress the right to regulate *inter-state commerce*, and, as most of the roads affected by the Granger Laws were inter-state roads, the laws were thus rendered of no use. The fight was taken to Congress, and in 1887 was passed the INTER-STATE COMMERCE ACT, the terms of which were similar to the terms of the Granger Laws. Pooling, discrimination, unreasonable rates were all illegal; an Inter-state Commerce Commission was established with no powers other than to watch the roads and bring suit if they suspected a violation of the law. At first the commission did very little but it gradually took to itself more and more powers. Finally, in 1906, by the HEPBURN Act it was given the power to fix rates.

After entering the World War, Congress passed a bill taking the railroads into the control of the government. They were operated under government ownership until March 1, 1920, when by the Esch-Cummins Act they were given back to their owners with certain guarantees of profit.

4. LABOR CONDITIONS.

No Labor Problem existed in the United States until after 1870. The discontent among the laboring classes after that date may be attributed to a number of causes:

1. Great immigration and the discharge of a million soldiers flooded the labor market.

2. The development of machinery had reduced demand for men.

3. Cheap Chinese labor was competing with American labor.

4. Trusts were forming with great control over labor and with a tendency, in the minds of the laborers, to raise prices and lower wages.

5. The further moving to western lands by the discontented was made impossible by the using up of all available land, "the safety valve of discontent."

The discontent of the laboring men soon resulted in organization to better their conditions. The first organization was that of THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR, organized by *Powderly*. Here all sorts of labor were in one great organization, and, due to their activities, thousands of strikes resulted. The most famous were about Chicago in the administrations of Cleveland. In the first, some Anarchists took advantage of the disorder to hurl a bomb into HAYMARKET SQUARE, killing many people. This affair took much sympathy from the labor organization. In Cleveland's second administration came the Pullman strike, with the sending of regular troops to keep order in defiance of the wishes of the Governor of Illinois.

The Knights of Labor began to dabble in politics and soon gave way to a new organization, the AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, with *Gompers* at the head. In this Federation the union of each trade kept its identity.

Great distress was caused by the coal strike of 1904, the strike being settled, at the instigation of President Roosevelt, by a commission.

The competition of foreign labor was met in a number of ways. Immigration laws were passed excluding all "contract labor." A movement in the west, under *Dennis Kearney*, resulted in the passage of an act excluding Chinese laborers.

TRUSTS are large organizations to control the output of any product and thus control its price. To make such unfair means as they used impossible, Congress passed the SHERMAN ANTI-TRUST ACT in 1890, making illegal all combinations in restraint of trade. Under Roosevelt a "trust-busting" crusade was begun under the act, and the dissolution of a number of trusts ordered. To clarify the meaning of the act and to make sure that labor unions should not be considered as trusts, Wilson had the CLAYTON Act passed.

Long ago the government gave its own employees the eight-hour day. In 1918; the ADAMSON BILL provided that the 8-hour day should be the basis of railroad laborers (on inter-state lines). The movement for the betterment of the position of labor and the guarantee of their right to strike is still before the country and should see settlement soon.

5. THE INDIANS.

The coming of the Union Pacific, with its thousands of new settlers, had made the Indians uncomfortable. Their source of food, the herds of buffalo, had about disappeared, and their hunger sent them upon the warpath, resulting in such episodes as the defeat of *Custer*. President Grant decided upon a new policy, saying "it is cheaper to feed the Indians than to fight them." They were moved into reservations that were given to the tribes and then fed by government agents.

Troubles came right at the beginning with the corruption of the Indian agents, who kept the money given them to feed the Indians. The Indians did not prosper in restraint, and the tribes died off, leaving the few survivors immensely wealthy. With the giving out of the desirable lands of the West, the eyes of the whites turned to this Indian land and means were devised to get it back. The DAWES INDIAN BILL was

passed, providing that if the Indians would renounce their tribal allegiance, they were to be given a tract of land to own individually. This left millions of acres for white occupation.

Another interesting source of discontent was caused by the presence of the MORMON Church in Utah, a territory. The EDMUNDS ACT was passed, prohibiting polygamy in the territories. The importance of this was that it re-established the control of the United States over its territories, a control which had been denied in the Dred Scott decision.

FOREIGN AFFAIRS SINCE 1860

1. During our war, France had taken advantage of our trouble to make herself master of Mexico and to put *Maximillian* on the throne, supported by a French garrison. At the close of the war, our government demanded, under the Monroe Doctrine, that the French withdraw their troops. This was finally done and Maximillian, unsupported, was captured by Mexicans and shot.

2. Russia had been friendly to us during the Civil War. This fact, coupled with a national exuberance, led us to purchase ALASKA from Russia in 1867.

3. England's violation of neutrality during the war has already been noted. After the war we demanded satisfaction for damage done by the Alabama and sister ships. By the TREATY OF WASHINGTON it was agreed to leave the matter to arbitration, and the GENEVA TRIBUNAL granted to the United States an indemnity of \$15,500,000.

4. The SAMOAN ISLANDS, in the Pacific, were sought by England, Germany and the United States. Taking advantage of a native revolt, Germany became aggressive and hoisted her flag. England withdrew and the United States sent a fleet to settle the issue with Germany. A battle was prevented by a typhoon, which destroyed most of the ships. The matter was settled in 1890, when the group was divided, the

United States getting TUTUILA with the harbor of Pago-Pago, and the Germans the rest of the group. The German islands were taken by the allies in the World War.

5. The Alaskan seal fisheries caused trouble in 1892. We claimed that Bering Sea was a closed sea and subject to our rules. England and Russia objected and the arbitration report was against the United States.

6. In 1891, came the "Itata" affair, in the matter of a revolution in Chile against President Balmaceda. We overstepped our rights when we interfered with a shipment of arms purchased by the insurgents and carried on the ship Itata. It made much hard feeling in Chile, resulting in a riot in which several United States sailors on shore leave were killed. Settlement was peaceably made but it left a bad taste and made our activities under the Monroe Doctrine more difficult.

7. The Hawaiian group had been peopled largely by Americans; a revolt occurred and the native queen was deposed in 1893; the new government controlled by Americans applied for annexation by the United States. President Harrison made a treaty, but before it was ratified Cleveland had come into office and, believing that the revolt had been caused by Americans for their own purposes, he withdrew the treaty. The matter hung fire until 1898 when, under McKinley, the group was annexed and given a territorial government.

8. CHINA was looked upon as fair prey by the European governments, but their design to divide China up was blocked by Secretary of State *John Hay*, who got Europe to agree to the doctrine of the OPEN DOOR and the integrity of China, probably the first acceptance by Europe of a purely American doctrine.

The Boxer Revolt, in 1900, resulted in a joint expedition to punish the Chinese fanatics who had been killing foreigners. United States forces took part. At the close China was forced to pay an indemnity to the nations involved, but the United States returned her share for use in Chinese education, making China a firm friend of this country.

9. JAPAN has been looked upon as a rival in Latin America and we have invoked the Monroe Doctrine particularly in preventing her from getting control of land in Mexico. An unpleasant situation came when California made a law prohibiting Japanese from holding land. Japanese occupation of Shantung caused unfavorable comment in this country and tension was great. Japan has now (1922) agreed to vacate Shantung.

10. The Monroe Doctrine saw its most serious test in 1895 in VENEZUELA. England claimed that the boundary line of British Guiana extended into Venezuela, and took steps to occupy the disputed land. We became interested because such an aggression, if the land were not England's, would violate the Monroe Doctrine. Secretary of State *Olney* demanded that the dispute be submitted to arbitration and England refused, feeling running very high and war threatening. Congress provided for commissioners to investigate the matter for our own guidance, and then England yielded and the matter was arbitrated, the report being entirely in England's favor. The important thing is the acceptance of the American right to intervene in such a quarrel.

11. In 1898, came the Spanish-American War. Its causes may be stated as:

1. Humanitarian. The harsh treatment of the Cubans by the Spanish excited our pity.
2. Commerical. Spanish government had been responsible for great losses to our commerical interests.
3. Hysterical. The yellow newspapers so excited the people that there was a general demand for war.

Cuba had been a subject of interest in the United States for a long time. In 1854, our ministers to Europe had issued the OSTEND MANIFESTO, stating that we would be justified in acquiring Cuba, by war if necessary.

At the close of the war, the TREATY OF PARIS provided that Spain should cede to us Porto Rico, the Philippine Islands and the Island of Guam; Spain should give up Cuba. We should give Spain a sum of money.

12. The giving up of Cuba brought a new problem. After a provisional government had been established by the United States, Cuba was finally given her independence under certain limitations. The PLATT AMENDMENT provided that Cuba must insert certain things into her constitution giving the United States rights of guardianship. In 1906 a revolt on the island made another intervention necessary, but when quiet was restored we again retired, and Cuba is now independent.

The Philippines have been governed as a dependency, the natives being granted more and more autonomy as they have had more experience in self-government. There is a movement among the Filipinos to demand independence. Before we finally got control we had to put down an extensive revolt under the leadership of *Aguinaldo*, who was finally captured.

Now the islands are governed by a governor and a commission containing three natives, appointed in this country. A legislature of two houses, of which the commission forms the upper, makes the laws.

13. In 1903, came the acquisition of the Panama Canal Zone. President Roosevelt wanted to build a canal across the isthmus, and for this had to get the permission of Colombia. Colombia rejected the treaty made, demanding more money a demand which the United States refused. In the meantime the people of Panama became impatient and, with the encouragement and aid of our government, arranged a revolt and declared their independence. Within forty-eight hours, Roosevelt recognized the new Panama government and a treaty was made, giving us the rights which we sought. A strip ten miles wide is virtually ceded to the United States. The canal was then built and is now in operation.

The canal was also the subject of some relations with England. We have already noted the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1853. When we found that we wanted to build the canal alone we negotiated the HAY-PAUNCEFOTE TREATY in 1901, by which England agreed to cancel the former treaty and allow us to build the canal alone, provided that in the use of the canal we should not discriminate among nations. This latter clause was brought up when the Taft administration decided that our own vessels should go through the canal toll-free. Objection on the part of England caused the Wilson administration to repeal this clause and now all ships pay the same tolls.

To right the wrong done to Colombia in aiding the revolt of Panama in 1903, a treaty has, after a political struggle been ratified granting Colombia \$25,000,000 and certain rights.

14. GERMANY'S aggressiveness led to two episodes. In 1898, when Dewey went into Manila Bay to find the Spanish fleet he found a German fleet there, which began to interfere with his operations. A strong threat by Dewey, reinforced by an English fleet, caused the Germans to back down.

Another phase of the Monroe Doctrine came in 1901 when Germany undertook to collect from Venezuela some money owed by Venezuela to German nationals. A fleet was sent over, but a strong protest by Roosevelt prevented the seizure of territory and persuaded Venezuela to settle the account. This presented a new question. If the Latin-American countries were to repudiate their debts, could we justly prevent Europe from taking territory as settlement, even though it violate the Monroe Doctrine. The question seems to have been settled by the case of Santo Domingo in 1905, when we assumed control of the finances of the land in order to prevent the repudiation of debts. Thus the Monroe Doctrine is tending to make us a policeman to keep the smaller nations up to their obligations.

15. A revolution in Mexico led to numerous raids across our borders and to a serious question as to whether we ought

not intervene and establish order by force of arms. The situation presented a new phase of the Monroe Doctrine, for the three important nations of South America, Argentina, Brazil and Chile, the A. B. C. Powers, offered their services to settle the question, and their offer was accepted. This suggests that the Monroe Doctrine may be extended into an all-American Doctrine with all the nations sharing the responsibility for keeping peace.

16. The World War involved the United States when our neutral shipping was sunk by Germany. We sent an immense army to France. President *Wilson* helped to frame the TREATY OF VERSAILLES which the Senate rejected largely because it provided for a LEAGUE OF NATIONS, an international organization which is now working.

17. In 1921 met the WASHINGTON CONFERENCE which negotiated treaties for the Limitation of Naval Armaments, for the settlement of disputes in the Pacific and for remedying conditions in China, all of which subjects are too complicated for brief treatment.

PARTY HISTORY SINCE 1870

The Republican Party, the party which had fought and won the Civil War, used its war record to stay in power until the election of Cleveland in 1884. The northern Democrats during the war had been called "Copperheads."

The discontented elements of the population often united and we find a series of "Third Party Movements," of which the most important should be noted.

1. In 1872, the Liberal Republicans nominated *Horace Greeley* for President. This party was a protest against the economic measures of the regular party. The Democrats in a hopeless position adopted Greeley as their candidate, and this marked his downfall. Greeley was defeated by Grant, and the party died out.

2. About 1890, a second party of protest arose in the POPULIST Party. It soon went the way of the Liberal Movement.

3. In 1912, Roosevelt broke away from the Republican Party and formed the PROGRESSIVE Party, another party of protest, which lasted only the one election after being defeated.

The election of 1876 must be noted particularly. The candidates were Hayes, Republican, and Tilden, Democrat. In some of the Southern states, chiefly Louisiana, there was confusion in the voting due to the reconstruction measures, and two sets of votes were sent in. The Constitution provided nothing for such a case, and it was decided to appoint a commission of seven Republicans, seven Democrats and one Independent to settle the disputed points. The odd member finally chosen was a Republican and the Commission decided in every case in favor of Hayes by a vote of 8 to 7. Thus Hayes became President.

The election of 1884 was carried for *Cleveland* by a group of discontented Republicans, who were known as MUG-

WUMPS and who refused to support *Blaine*, the Republican nominee.

The election of 1896, Bryan and McKinley, has already been treated in the Silver discussion. McKinley was elected by the business interests of the country, under the leadership of Mark Hanna.

TARIFFS SINCE 1880

In recent years the two large parties have split on the subject of tariff, the Republicans demanding a high protective tariff, the Democrats a low revenue tariff. The chief tariff bills have been as follows:

Cleveland	(The Mills Bill)	Low but did not pass
Harrison	McKinley Bill	Higher Tariff
Cleveland	Wilson Bill	Lower Tariff
McKinley	Dingley Bill	Very high
Taft	Payne-Aldrich Bill	About same
Wilson	Underwood Bill	Much lower

In the Wilson bill in Cleveland's administration was included an INCOME TAX. The Supreme Court declared this tax unconstitutional, as it was not laid in proportion to the population. An amendment to the Constitution, the 16th, was finally put into effect and now many millions are collected from the income tax.

CHANGING THE FORM OF GOVERNMENT

The Constitution may be changed in its working in three ways:

1. By Custom.

The original way of electing the President was for the electors to use their own discretion in their choice. Very soon after 1800 it became the custom for them to vote automatically for the nominee of their parties.

2. By Judicial Decision.

Chief Justice John Marshall handed down many decisions extending the power of the central government, among which were:

Marbury vs. Madison, in which he decided that an act of Congress which the Supreme Court held to be unconstitutional need not be obeyed.

The Dartmouth College Case, deciding that the Supreme Court might declare an act of a state legislature unconstitutional.

McCulloch vs. Maryland, holding that Congress had the right to charter the U. S. Bank, thus upholding loose construction.

Gibbons vs. Ogden, excluding from state action all kinds of interstate commerce.

These decisions were of the greatest value in giving a strong central government.

3. Amendment.

The first ten amendments have already been noted.

The 11th excluded from the jurisdiction of U. S. courts all cases brought by a citizen against a state.

The 12th amendment was to prevent a situation such as came in the election of 1800, due to voting for President and Vice-President on the same ballot. They are now voted for separately.

The 13th, 14th and 15th are the Civil War Amendments, the 13th giving the slaves freedom, the 14th giving the negro civil rights, the 15th giving the negro the right to vote.

The 16th makes an income tax legal.

The 17th provided for the election of U. S. Senators by popular vote.

The 18th is the prohibition amendment.

The 19th provides for woman suffrage.

SOME LANDMARK DATES

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 1492. Columbus' First Voyage | 1795. Jay's Treaty |
| 1565. St. Augustine | 1800. Election of Jefferson |
| 1588. Spanish Armada | 1803. Louisiana Purchase |
| 1607. Jamestown | 1807. Embargo |
| 1619. Slaves and Assembly in Va. | 1809. Non-Intercourse |
| 1620. Plymouth | 1810. Macon's Bill |
| 1624. Virginia made Royal | 1812-15. War with England |
| 1629. Massachusetts Bay | 1815. Hartford Convention |
| 1634. Maryland | 1818. Joint Occupation of Oregon |
| 1636. Rhode Island and Conn. | 1819. Florida |
| 1643. New England Confederation | 1820. Missouri Compromise |
| 1660. Restoration in England | 1823. Monroe Doctrine |
| First Navigation Act | 1824. Election of Adams |
| 1664. English took New Amsterdam | 1828. Tariff of Abominations |
| 1673. Marquette and Joliet | 1833. Compromise Tariff |
| 1681. LaSalle | 1837. Panic |
| Pennsylvania | 1845. Texas annexed |
| 1634-89. Dominion of New England | 1846. Oregon dispute settled |
| 1689-97. King William's War | 1846-48. Mexican War |
| 1702-13. Queen Anne's War | 1850. Omnibus Bill |
| 1713. Treaty of Utrecht | 1854. Kansas-Nebraska Bill |
| 1732. Georgia | 1856. Dred Scott Decision |
| 1744-48. King George's War | 1860. Election of Lincoln |
| 1754. Albany Convention | 1865. End of Civil War |
| 1754-63. French and Indian War | 1865-76. Reconstruction in South |
| 1764. Sugar Act | 1876. Election of Hayes |
| 1765. Stamp Act | 1878. Bland-Allison Bill |
| 1767. Townsend Acts | 1883. Pendleton Bill |
| 1770. Boston Riot | 1887. Inter-State Commerce Act |
| 1773. Boston Tea Party | 1890. Sherman Bills |
| 1774. Five Intolerable Acts | 1896. Election of McKinley |
| 1774. First Continental Congress | 1898. Spanish-American War |
| 1775. Second Continental Congress | Hawaii annexed |
| War began | 1903. Panama |
| 1776. Declaration of Independence | 1906. Hepburn Act |
| 1777. Articles of Confederation | 1912. Election of Wilson |
| 1778. Treaty with France | 1914. War in Europe |
| 1781. Art. of Confederation ratified | 1914. Trouble in Mexico |
| 1783. Treaty closing Revolution | 1917. U. S. in World War |
| 1783-89. Critical Period | 1919. Treaty signed at Versailles |
| 1786. Annapolis Convention | 1920. Rejection by the Senate |
| 1787. Constitutional Convention | 1921. Washington Conference |
| 1789. Washington President | |

IMPORTANT CHARACTERS

Something should be known of all the following; those marked "*" should be taken up in some detail.

Henry the Navigator	Coronado	Cortez
Columbus*	Pizarro	Cartier
Cabot	Drake	Menendez
DeLeon	Raleigh	Popham
Balboa	Smith	Berkeley
Narvaez	Bradford	Winthrop
DeSoto	Williams	Hooker
Stuyvesant	Carteret	Penn*
Calvert	Oglethorpe	Bacon
Andros	Wolfe	Montcalm
Grenville	Otis	Samuel Adams
Washington *	Randolph	Patterson
Hamilton*	Franklin*	Jefferson*
Jay	Genet	Talleyrand
Gallatin	Lewis	Clarke
Clay*	J. Q. Adams	Jackson*
Marshall	Perry	Canning
Calhoun	Taney	Houston
Whitman	Slidell	Scott
Wilmot	Stowe	Brown
Douglas*	Lincoln*	Davis
Seward	Stanton	Stevens
Sumner	Grant*	Lee
Tweed	Tilden	Bland
Blaine*	Pendleton	Sherman
Hanna	Bryan	Powderly
Gompers	Hay*	Aguiinaldo
Roosevelt*	Braddock	Gage
Gates	Cornwallis	Burgoyne
Marbury	Garrison	Hayne
Webster	Burr	Boone
Hoover	Peary	Edison*

MAP SUGGESTIONS

The following should be placed upon a map; the historical importance of each should be expressed clearly in a sentence or two.

St Augustine	Roanoke	Jamestown
Plymouth	Boston	Hartford
Providence	New Haven	New Amsterdam
New Castle	Philadelphia	Baltimore
St. Mary's	Louisburg	Acadia
Quebec	Ft. Duquesne	Charlestown
Concord	Lexington	Princeton
Trenton	Valley Forge	Cowpens
Camden	Yorktown	Annapolis
Louisiana	Washington	New Orleans
Detroit	Thames River	36-30
Saratoga	Western Reserve	Lundy's Lane
Resaca de la Palma	Palo Alto	Vera Cruz
Buena Vista	Gadsden Purchase	54-40
Kansas	Nebraska	Harper's Ferry
Freeport	Utah	Fredericksburg
Chancellorsville	Gettysburg	Antietam
Vicksburg	Alaska	Chicago
Samoa	Venezuela	Hawaii
Philippines	Cuba	Porto Rico
Virgin Is.	Panama	Santiago
Pekin	San Jacinto	The Alamo
Treaty of 1783	Treaty of 1763	Boundary of 1818
Northwest Territory	Mason-Dixon Line	Mexican Cession
U. P. Railroad	National Road	Gila River
Nueces River	Guam	Fonseca
Dominion of New Eng.	The Confederacy	The "Doubtful States"
Shantung	Argonne	Genoa

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